The Peace Problem

The Task of the Twentieth Century

By
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With an Introduction by
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This book is dedicated

to

ALBERT K. SMILEY

as an appreciation of his untiring efforts in the cause of international good-will

and

as a tribute of personal gratitude for his many instances of kindly hospitality

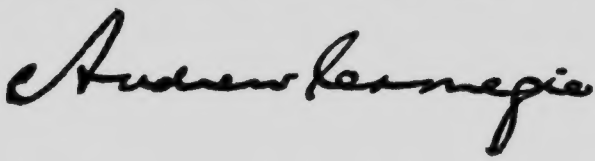
INTRODUCTION

I HAV red this book from beginning to end with interest and profit. The record is truthfully told and we see beyond all question that the path of man is ever upward and onward, so that just as he has abolisht cannibalism and no longer eats his fellows, or tortures, burns or slays his prisoners, and has abolisht private war (duelling) in English-speaking lands, so the killing of man by man in international war is as certain to follow as the sun is to shine, and nations, like individuals, are to settle their disputes in courts of justice, neither man nor nations sitting as judges in their own cause.

The author pays to President Taft no undue credit, for he was first among rulers to unfurl the banner of unrestricted international judicial arbitration of disputes,—and thousands of years hence his will be one of the few names posterity will still preserv as the man of our century or of all centuries, who did most to banish the last, but the foulest, blot upon our so-cald civilization, provided

he stands as Lincoln did, devoted to the cause he has made his own, of which the writer entertains not one shadow of dout.

I hope large editions of this book will be circulated by our peace organizations among those we can interest in the noblest of all causes, the abolition of the savage practise of men killing each other like wild beasts.



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The Peace Problem

I

THE TASK OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE nineteenth century was one of national development. It was a period of nations finding themselves. Germany passed from a group of scattered and unrelated states into a powerful and unified empire. Her industrial development has been marvellous. The spirit of nationality has spread throughout the empire and the Fatherland stands a great, compact organism, one in spirit and one in purpose. Japan is another illustration, one of the most significant of all, because of the rapidity with which the national development has proceeded. At the beginning of the last century an unheard of, unambitious, uninfluential, dormant nation; during the century she has become a great, industrial centre, awake to the best learning of the world, a military power of first rank, a leader in the great East, with a constitutional government bordering upon

democracy. It is needless to refer to our land. From a little handful of jealous states bordering on the eastern ocean it has become the great republic of the world, one and indivisible. It has worked out the problem of democracy; at least to that point that democracy is shown to be the political theory of the future. It has been developing its national resources, building railroads, founding schools and colleges, and solidifying its vast interests. It has passed through great struggles, but it not only has saved itself but has made a union which in many respects is the model for the world. It has, every year, received many hundreds of thousands of aliens, coming from every conceivable form of government and no government, of every religion, race, ideal, colour, tongue, and has succeeded, with phenomenal success, considering the circumstances, in moulding them over into American citizens and unifying them all into a nation which, while in composition the most heterogeneous on the earth, in spirit is as homogeneous as any. What has been true of these nations has been true of all. The nineteenth century was one of national development.

Task of the Twentieth Century

The twentieth century, which we have just entered, is to be one of international development. What has happened in countries, with states, is to happen, at least in spirit, in the world, with nations. While we might not venture to say with some prophets that the end of the twentieth century will witness the United Nations of the World, as the end of the nineteenth century witnessed a perfected United States of America, no one who has closely observed the movements gathering greatest headway at the beginning of this century can fail to see that the century is to witness a somewhat similar unifying process among the nations to that which the nineteenth century witnessed among the states. As the states turned from state aggrandizement, regardless of other states, to consider the common welfare of the nation, so the nations of the world are going to drop their policies of isolation for one of common purpose and welfare. As the states abandoned their habit of going to war over their disputes, and established a supreme court of states at Washington, where now all differences are settled by arbitration, so the nations are going less and less to make war

upon each other, and to establish a supreme court of nations at which all their disputes will be settled by arbitration. As the states have developed a large parliament or congress of states at Washington, made up of delegates from all the states, which makes laws for the states and debates questions affecting all the states, yet each state keeps its own congress, or parliament, or assembly, so the nations will develop a great parliament of nations, which shall pass laws affecting all the nations and shall debate questions of interest to all while each nation retains its own parliament. Indeed, as we shall see in a moment, this parliament of man, in a sense, has already been realized in the Second Hague Conference of 1907. And just as the states have learned to hold unofficial conferences to consider the welfare of the nation, as witness the recent conference of all the governors at Washington, and just as all state, religious, philanthropic, and scientific, organizations hold national conferences, so the officials of the nations and the national organizations, religious and secular, are going more and more to hold unofficial, international conferences and congresses; and just as in

the nation we have all of us come to that point where we do not think of ourselves as citizens of our state so much as citizens of the United States, so the twentieth century will witness a growth of the sense of international citizenship—a sense of belonging to the great, closely-knit brotherhood of aspiring man, which if not as deep-rooted as our sense of national citizenship will closely approximate to it. This sense of world citizenship is already not unknown among the prophets. And just as the states have become big enough in their sympathies to desire for all the other states what they desire for themselves and to erect no barriers between state and state, and to bear upon their hearts supremely the welfare of the nation, so the twentieth century will witness the nations foregoing the old selfish policies of isolation, and striving altogether for one common welfare and achievement, in a federation which shall insure justice, right understanding, and happiness for all.

It is the purpose of this book to bring to attention certain happenings of this century, hardly yet begun, which show how irresistible and inevitable this movement towards

international development and federation of the nations already is. When, at the beginning of the century, Mr. W. T. Stead wrote his prophetic book, "The Americanization of the World," everybody praised the brilliancy of the book, the daring prophecy in its pages, but no one believed. Only ten years have passed, and all who are watching the happenings of the world not only now feel its probability, but cannot help noting that it is to be the real trend and task of the century. Everything is setting that way. A calendar of the events of only one year, the year 1909, making for the federation and peace of the world, was recently prepared and in it are entered fifty great events. In fact almost every great event of 1909 was of an international nature. So significant were these events of just one year, so many were they, that we could largely confine ourselves to a consideration of them, and by one year alone show the remarkable trend of this century to be international unity as the trend of the last century was national unity.

II

ALL THE WORLD IN ONE ROOM

THERE are several great movements characteristic of our century, which, although the century has seen ten years only, have already become so common that they are printed almost without headlines in the papers, and have within them such international significance that not only are they signs of and help towards the federation of the world, but are already actual realization of world unity and federation. The most outstanding of these is the Second Hague Conference. For there we have all the world in one room at last.

It is very significant that the century should have been ushered in by *half* the world in one room. For the First Hague Conference came just as the new century was about to be born—on May 18, 1899. It was called by the Tzar of Russia, but he was simply acting as the voice of the world. The time had come. It was almost as if Providence wanted to dedicate the new

century to this new thing. For some years the Tzar had been brooding over the growing burden of armaments and the menace of militarism in Europe. Then came Jean de Bloch's great book, "The Future of War," showing the cost and misery of wars of the future. The Tzar became so interested that in 1896 he sent a special commissioner to Budapest to the meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. The report was so sanguine that the Tzar called the First Hague Conference. The call sent a thrill throughout the world. Many were sceptical, but the prophets saw the beginning of a new era. They knew this century was to witness the unification of the world. The conference in itself really accomplished much, although it was the first of such gatherings and met with no distinct idea of just what it was to do. It immediately resolved itself into three committees, one on new rules of warfare, one on arbitration, one on disarmament. The committee on disarmament could not come to any agreement and the conference accomplished nothing in this regard. But in the other two points it took great steps forward. Three declarations were made regarding

rules of warfare, but the great legacy of the First Hague Conference was the convention in sixty-one articles, for the Pacific Settlement of International Controversies. This called for the creation of a Permanent International Court of Arbitration, the special mediation between warring nations of neutral powers, and International Commissions of Inquiry in cases where disputes chiefly concerned facts. Several of the nations present endeavoured to get suggestions for a general system of arbitration incorporated, but it was too soon. But what an omen it was of the new century that half the world should be together debating world unity. Thus the mind of all the world was turned in this direction at the beginning. The nations went home to continue the work and up to the meeting of the Second Conference, nine years after, the new principles were before the world. It was not long before twenty-two of the nations had approved the conventions and appointed their delegates to the Permanent International Tribunal. Each nation was allowed four members in the tribunal. A Permanent Bureau was established at The Hague under the control of the ministers of the nations at

the Netherlands. After a while the corner-stone was laid of a magnificent palace for the housing of the court, which was presented by Andrew Carnegie. As we shall see later, cases were soon sent to this tribunal, the United States having sent the first one. The fact of the tribunal being in existence has prevented wars, as in the case of Russia and Great Britain over the North Sea incident. The clause on the usefulness of the intervention of neutral powers made it possible for President Roosevelt to interfere between Russia and Japan. Best of all a new habit of thought began to take possession of the world.

The First Hague Conference was a happy augury. But the great thing of the new century is, as we remarked, that in its first decade, in 1907, *all* the world was in one room. For only four nations, and they insignificant, and at the time full of internal problems, were absent, Costa Rica, Honduras, Abyssinia, and Liberia. When the writer reached The Hague upon a Friday afternoon he found an invitation awaiting him for a reception to be given by the delegates from the United States to the delegates from the other nations. He at-

tended the reception, which occurred at the Palace Hotel, Schevenningen, and there he saw what had never before been seen by any one in the long history of the world. For the first time in human history all the world was in one room. This in itself was worth all the Second Hague Conference cost, and this alone would have marked a great step forward in the history of the world. These delegates from every land were in the same room for four months, considering all this time the things that make for world unity, and international peace. Had they done nothing but confer, that would have been of great value, for it would have prepared the way for other conferences, as it did in this case.

But the Second Hague Conference made some very definite and momentous steps towards world unity. It passed fourteen conventions, every one of which cemented the ties of the nations in more or less degree and brought federation nearer. Here are the most important of these conventions.

The First Convention or Resolution as we in America would say, enlarged the scope of the Convention of the First Hague Conference of 1899 for Pacific Settlement of International

Disputes. Where the convention of 1899 said that intervention of neutral powers might be useful in times of belligerency between two nations, the Conference of 1907 added the word *desirable*. This addition was no doubt suggested to the nations by the success of President Roosevelt's intervention in the war between Russia and Japan, just as that was made possible by the convention adopted by the First Hague Conference. This First Convention also provides that of two powers in a dispute either one may go to The Hague Court and demand arbitration even if the other power does not agree to ask arbitration. Previously both powers party to the dispute had to agree before the arbitration could be asked. Now one can put its case before the public opinion of the world, so to speak, even though the other has refused to arbitrate. One of the leading delegates to the Second Conference has said that he doubts if any nation would be either able or willing to defy this public opinion if its enemy had demanded arbitration.

The Second Convention was one of far-reaching consequence flowing from the bill introduced by General Horace Porter, the delegate of the United States, referring to the col-

lecting of contractual debts. It provides that the powers shall not have resource to armed force to collect debts which a country claims are due to some of its citizens, until an offer of arbitration properly made has either been refused or ignored. If arbitration is accepted the judgment is also to determine whether the claim is well founded or not. The significance of this convention will be comprehended only when we remember how many wars of the past have arisen over these contractual debts. More than one sociologist has expressed the opinion that this one convention has put one-fourth of future wars beyond the realm of possibility.

The Ninth Convention forbids the bombardment of or the laying of tribute on unfortified towns. This not only reduces the area of wars but makes any government hesitate to enter upon wars with the object of pillage which has played a large part in the wars of the past, and the promise of which has been as fuel to flames already lit by other motives.

The Twelfth Convention was a great gain for internationalism, in the provision for an International Prize Court. Hereafter, instead of a court of the nation which has captured the

prizes, deciding whether the capture is just or not, an impartial court, made up of other powers, is to pronounce upon it. This has always been a cause of much friction between nations, often involving other nations in a war which was being waged between only two. Thus a great cause of animosity is removed. But best of all it extends the principle of internationalism into a new and wide field. Here, as has so often happened in history, the framers of this convention were building infinitely greater than they knew, for after much earnest but ineffectual striving for some method of constituting a permanent court of arbitral justice, such as the Second Conference unanimously voted was desirable, the Secretary of State of the United States has recommended that the powers of this prize court be extended to cover all international disputes, and, as we shall see later, his recommendations are meeting with very gratifying response from all the powers to which they have been submitted. Except for the lesser the greater could not have come so easily.

These are the four great conventions. But the other ten are of much greater significance than the world has seemed to realize. Any

step at all in international good-will is a great step, because it makes the next step possible and because it fosters the world habit of thought. These remaining ten relate to the regulation of warfare on sea and land, the inviolability of neutral powers and of postal correspondence, the necessity of declaring the intention of entering upon a war before beginning it, the dropping of explosives from balloons, etc. They are all distinct gains because they are all along the line of mercy and the protection of both those engaged and those unengaged in the actual conflict. They all call for more and more international coöperation.

Yet, after all this has been said, it was the untabulated results of the conference, the aspirations voiced, the *voeux* passed, but not embodied in conventions, the work begun but not finished, the things laid out for future conferences to do, that were the great results of the meeting of the nations. The historian, a hundred years hence, will point to the beginning of this century as one of the turning points in civilization, if only because all the nations committed themselves to the idea of a Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice. For

the Second Hague Conference voted unanimously on this point. We should have had the court to-day except for the fact that the nations could not agree upon the method of its constitution. Naturally the great powers desired proper representation upon its bench. But the South American states contended eagerly for the principle of the moral equality of all states, and insisted on the same right of representation upon the court. But equal representation from all nations would make a parliament or legislature, not a court. The constituting of the court thus offered insurmountable difficulties for the conference. It adjourned committed to the plan, and with the intention of studying methods of constitution so that the Third Conference might find it an actuality or make it such. How sincere the conference was in this regard is seen in the fact that the present Secretary of State, as we have seen, has already sent an identic note to the great powers, suggesting that the powers which have agreed upon a Prize Court constitute a Court of Arbitral Justice whether the other nations of the world join them or not. It is believed that these other nations will be glad to join, indeed, will

actually be compelled to join by the world-feeling. At this writing the outlook for this court is most promising. At the Sixteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of International Arbitration, Mr. James Brown Scott, who was legal adviser to the delegates from the United States to the Second Hague Conference, and is now solicitor for the State Department, uttered these significant words:

> "The Secretary of State, the Hon. Philander C. Knox, authorizes and directs me to say officially that the responses to the identic circular note have been so favourable, and manifest such a willingness and desire on the part of the leading nations to constitute a Court of Arbitral Justice, that he believes a truly permanent Court of Arbitral Justice, composed of judges acting under a sense of judicial responsibility, representing the various judicial systems of the world and capable of insuring the continuity of arbitral jurisprudence, will be established in the immediate future, and that the Third Peace Conference will find it in successful operation at The Hague."

It had been generally hoped that the Second Hague Conference would be able to pass a general treaty of obligatory arbitration, wherein all the nations would agree to submit certain classes of disputes, at

least, to the arbitration of a tribunal. While the failure to pass such a treaty was a disappointment to many, yet the progress the conference actually made in this regard was really remarkable when one considers how new the idea is to many nations, how sceptical Germany has been of the idea, until recently, and what emphasis the conference really did lay on arbitration after all. For, in the first place, *thirty-five* out of the forty-four nations present voted in favour of the general treaty. Most of the nine nations not voting for it would have done so, had not Germany stood out against it. But Germany was careful to clear herself against any imputation of not endorsing the principle of arbitration, for she explicitly declared that while she did not think it wise to involve herself in a general treaty with some small and weak nations which she deemed irresponsible, she endorsed the principle and stood ready to conclude treaties with other nations at once. Thus at the beginning of this century we find thirty-five of the nations voting for a general treaty of arbitration, all the nations of the world endorsing the principle and ready to conclude treaties in pairs,

and for several weeks the whole world concerned with the discussion of arbitration rather than war. Some of us even feel that the prospects of getting so many more questions included in the treaty which will probably be passed in the Third Conference are so bright, since President Taft has declared himself in favour of including all questions, even so-called questions of vital honour in arbitration treaties, that it is perhaps just as well that the general treaty was not concluded, although all the nations endorsed it.

Some one has said that the greatest thing the Second Hague Conference did was to vote for a Third Conference. In a sense this is true. In voting for its permanency and continuation it constituted a permanent world-legislative body. We already have the "Parliament of Man," which Tennyson prophesied and the beginning of the Federation of the World. The Permanent Court will be that much of the world federated as shall be represented upon it. In closing this chapter let us say again that the great thing after all is that the century opens with all the world in one room considering the task of the twentieth century, namely the federation

of the nations. The very fact that these men of every race and country were together on such intimate terms for so long a time, has done much to turn the current of men's thoughts and feelings. Nations understand one another better now. Europe discovered South America for the first time. It was a great thing to bring South America into the concert of the world. The music played was more and more harmonious. Many prejudices were wiped away, and angles rubbed smooth by common contact. Nations which came suspicious of other nations went away friends. A habit of peace-talk instead of war-talk was formed. It has grown and will grow even on to the Third Conference when much more will be accomplished. It has declared the task of the twentieth century to the world.

III

THE SUBSTITUTION OF REASON FOR FORCE

THE second group of facts which show not only that this trend towards international unity is going on in our century but is moving with most incredible swiftness is the unparallelled signing of arbitration treaties. The writer was fortunate enough to visit the Franco-British Exhibition in London, in 1908. This exhibition itself was held to celebrate a treaty of peace. It was arranged by the French and English governments in celebration of the treaty signed by them in 1907, called the *entente cordiale*, binding England and France to stand together for the Peace of Europe. One of the most conspicuous features of the exhibition was a great map of the world hanging on the walls of the main building, with bright, red lines extending from nation to nation. At first the writer thought these lines must be steamboat routes or cables, but then he noticed that they crossed the land as well as seas, and extended from capital to capital.

What he really discovered was that these lines united those nations between which arbitration treaties existed, and the map was red with them. Had this map been drawn in the nineteenth century there would not have been treaties enough to make it worth while. After only eight years of the twentieth century there were over sixty of these lines. During the first fifty years of the last century very little was heard of arbitration. During the first ten years of the twentieth century *ninety-six* arbitration treaties have been signed.[1] All previous centuries have witnessed ten wars to one arbitration treaty. The first ten years of the twentieth century has witnessed *fifty treaties to one war*. It looks as though this were going to be the age of treaties rather than the age of wars, the century of reason, rather than the century of force. And every treaty is a golden band uniting nations into one.

These treaties are being formed so rapidly

[1] For a list of these treaties, a truly remarkable achievement in ten years, see the interesting pamphlet, "International Arbitration at the Opening of the Twentieth Century," by Benjamin F. Trueblood, published by the American Peace Society, Boston, Mass.

among the nations of the earth that it is hard for us who are unaccustomed to these new things which have come upon us so suddenly to appreciate their significance. They are signs that the world has entered upon a new era. Of course the two meetings of The Hague Conference have had a wonderful effect upon the concluding of these treaties. Before the meeting of these conferences, and during the latter part of the nineteenth century, several attempts were made to conclude such treaties, but they were unavailing. In 1883, for instance, attempts were made to secure a treaty between Switzerland and the United States. Curiously enough, our nation, which now leads in the arbitration movement, was the nation to reject the offer, it having been made by Switzerland. At the Pan-American Conference in 1889–1890 a general treaty for the American republics was drafted but it was never ratified. Great efforts were made by Sir Randall Cremer and others, American as well as British seers and statesmen, to secure a treaty between Great Britain and the United States. In 1897 Mr. Olney and Mr. Pauncefote signed such a treaty, but the United States Senate would

not ratify it. Other attempts were made between other nations, but failed. It was the century of national unification, but the idea of world unity had not yet come, in force, to our statesmen. But after The Hague Conference, at the beginning of this century, all this was changed.

As we saw in the last chapter, while the nations at The Hague could not quite unanimously agree upon a general treaty of obligatory arbitration, they unanimously committed themselves to the arbitration idea, and pledged themselves to conclude treaties among themselves. We must also remember that thirty-four nations stood ready to conclude a general treaty. It is one of the promising signs of the times that the nations have been true to their expressed endorsement of the principles, and, as we saw, have already concluded ninety-six in this century. Our own country, under the able leadership of that great Secretary of State and peacemaker, Elihu Root, signed, during Mr. Root's term of office, twenty-four. Treaties with France, Great Britain, Switzerland, Norway, Spain, Portugal, Japan, Denmark, Italy, Mexico, Holland, Sweden, China and Brazil were signed

by our government in 1908 alone. The five Central American states, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala, signed a treaty agreeing to refer all disputes arising among them to an International Court at Cartago, Costa Rica, since changed to San José, and Andrew Carnegie, Esq., that prince of peacemakers, has erected a building for the court. A home for the Bureau of American Republics has recently been dedicated at Washington—a beautiful marble building costing nearly a million dollars, also presented by Mr. Carnegie. By common acclamation it is always referred to as "The Peace Palace," and a great part of the work of the bureau will be the peaceful settlement of disputes among the American republics in conformity with arbitration treaties already signed and others which will rapidly be signed.

The most perfect of these arbitration treaties in existence is the one made between Chile and Argentina. It covers all disputes. In 1901, a dispute arose over a boundary line high up in the Andes, dividing the two nations. Eighty thousand acres of land, containing some valuable water privileges, was the bone of contention. Any war that

might settle it would cost one hundred times more than the land was worth to either nation. But nations do not go to war for values, but to have their own ways. Preparations for war began between these two poor and overburdened nations. They began increasing their armaments with all speed possible. They were taxing the unfortunate citizens at the rate of five dollars per capita, annually. The British ministers residing in the capitals of the two countries saw the absurdity and crime of such a war and began to urge upon the two countries a peaceable settlement of the claims. The Bishop of San Juan de Cuyo, Argentina, Dr. Marcoline Benavente, and Dr. Ramon Angel Jara, Bishop of San Carlos de Ancud, Chile, supported the British ministers. The bishops travelled throughout their respective countries pleading with the people to calm their revengeful passions, to refrain from a horrible and criminal war that would not settle which nation was right, but only which was strongest or could endure the longest, to remember that all were brothers and of the same faith, and to settle their difficulties not by the shedding of blood, but in the spirit of

Christ. When, on Easter Sunday, 1900, Bishop Benavente was making such appeals as these for peace, he suggested that a statue of Christ be placed high up on the Andes, on the boundary line of the two nations, where the connecting road between them crossed the summit. The women of the two nations greatly aided the bishops and British ministers. The rulers were touched by the popular feeling. It was agreed to submit the question to King Edward for arbitration. He chose eminent jurists and scientists who went thoroughly through the whole question and eventually submitted a decision, which distributed the land between the two nations. Both were perfectly satisfied and were so pleased with the success of the arbitration that they immediately concluded a treaty agreeing to submit all disputes to arbitration for five years. This treaty, signed in June, 1903, is the *first* arbitration treaty ever concluded which covers *all* cases.

The immediate result of this treaty was that the money which had already begun to flow into battle-ships and arsenals was now diverted to other and beneficial sources.

Technical schools were founded, harbours were improved. The commercial fleets were enlarged, and good roads constructed. Best of all a great trans-Andean railroad was built, connecting the two countries. The natural distrust of the two nations, which had kept them in a continual broil for sixty years, passed away with the signing of this treaty. Then Bishop Benavente's suggestion of the statue of Christ on the boundary line was recalled and Señora de Costa, president of the Christian Mother's Association of Buenos Ayres, soon collected the necessary funds. The statue was cast at the arsenal of Buenos Ayres from old cannon taken from the ancient fortress outside the city. When the statue was finished a great delegation came from Chile to Buenos Ayres and there was a week's festivities. In February, 1904, the great statue was hauled up the mountains on gun carriages and with the delegates from Chile standing in Argentina and those representing Argentina standing in Chile, the statue was erected, section by section, to music, and dedicated to the peace of the whole world. The statue of Christ, in bronze, twenty-six feet high, stands on a great globe

of the world. A granite shaft holds the globe high in air. The Christ holds a cross in the left hand while the right hand is stretched out in blessing over the world. On the base is a bronze tablet with these words: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chileans break the peace to which they have pledged themselves at the feet of Christ the Redeemer."

We have told this story at length because it is typical. It shows the new spirit that has come over the world. It is as much an indication of the direction of the new century as was the meeting of all the world at The Hague, and the establishing of a permanent tribunal. It shows, too, the practicability of arbitration. When the critic says, "Arbitration will not work," we say, "Look at Argentina and Chile; it has worked." When the critic says, "You cannot settle all questions by arbitration, you must except those of vital honour," we say, "Argentina and Chile have agreed to settle all questions." Indeed the tendency to include all questions in treaties grows stronger and stronger since this case of arbitration worked so well.

When, in 1905, Norway and Sweden peacefully separated, they drew up a treaty in which they agreed to submit all questions, excepting those involving national honour, to arbitration, but they inserted the proviso that the question of honour should also be subject to the arbitrators. By this treaty, Norway and Sweden are saving vast sums of money for social, industrial and educational benefit that otherwise would have been put into armament. By and by we shall all see what fools we are, and put the millions we are now spending on great, useless hulks, with which to fight fancied enemies, into fighting the only real enemies any nation has to-day, corruption, corporate greed, tuberculosis, typhoid, saloons and other subtler foes. It is always worth remembering that the money spent in one battle-ship would build a Harvard University and then leave enough to build a Tuskeegee and a Hampton Institute. An arbitration costs perhaps $1,000,000. Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead has called attention to the fact that "Three weeks before Paul Kruger's 'Ultimatum' Joseph Chamberlain, British Minister, refused to refer the difficulties to an arbitration

board of two Dutch and three British chief justices. Had he done so, England would have saved three years of bitterness, a set-back to all local progress and reform, and the hatred of a people who lost 20,000 women and children in concentration camps; she would have saved $1,100,000,000, which might have given that third of England's population who are living in dire poverty on less than six dollars a week per family the following things:

" 100 Old People's Homes at $100,000 each.
1,000 Public Playgrounds at $50,000 each.
1,000 Public Libraries at $50,000 each.
1,000 Trade Schools at $200,000 each.
500 Hospitals at $200,000 each.
3,000 Public Schools at $100,000 each.
150,000 Workingmen's Houses at $2,000 each."

Two years after the war, England was paying $400,000 a week to keep up her army in South Africa, while one quarter of her own people at home went hungry.

This is generally the difference in cost between war and arbitration. War never settles what is right, but only who is strongest. The nations are seeing this and the treaties increase. Before long they will

include all questions. It is significant that President Taft at a peace society dinner in New York in 1910 should say that he saw no reason why questions of so-called honour should not be included in arbitration treaties. Meantime we should remember that every one of these partial treaties removes a large number of future wars out of the range of possibility. And not only this, they cover more cases than are written in the text of the treaty. For where these treaties leave certain points, such as questions affecting vital honour or interference with territorial boundaries, untouched, the very fact that there exists an arbitration treaty covering other things inclines the nations to consider arbitration concerning these other and greater things before resorting to war. And since practically every case covered by these treaties, which has been settled by arbitration, has convinced the nations that it is the more excellent way, the first thought is to try and see if a dispute not covered by them could not also be peacefully adjusted. Every treaty, no matter how limited, turns the thought towards peaceful tribunals and sets a habit. So that the one hundred treaties

already signed in this century have, perhaps, removed sixty per cent. of wars out of the range of probability.

Also, before passing to the third group of signs of the growing brotherhood of nations, we should notice that many friendly compacts and treaties, not exactly arbitration treaties, but suggested and made possible by them, are being drawn up in our day and are accomplishing the same results of cementing nations and preventing wars. Thus during 1908 alone these things happened: England and France signed a treaty of alliance, an *entente cordiale*, which pledges them to stand together to preserve the peace of Europe. When one remembers that there was a time when France and England did nothing but fight each other, when such speeches were common as Bedford makes in "King Henry VI—Part I," "Bonfires in France forthwith I am to make"—and afterwards "Ten thousand soldiers with me I will take, whose bloody deeds shall make all Europe quake," one can see what advance the spirit of good-will among the nations has made. The two nations celebrated this *rapprochement* by a great Franco-British

exposition in London, to which reference has been made. A treaty was signed by Russia, Great Britain and Norway making Norway neutral ground. A declaration was signed in Berlin by Germany, Denmark, France, Great Britain, and Sweden, neutralizing all land bordering on the North Sea. At almost the same time a declaration was signed in St. Petersburg by Russia, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden neutralizing all land bordering on the Baltic Sea. An agreement was signed by the United States and Japan insuring the peace of the Pacific—simply a friendly compact of the two nations to set weaker nations free from worry—a thing that would have been impossible in the last century, as also would have been impossible the most Christian thing the United States ever did, namely, to remit $14,000,000 indemnity which China owed, awaking in China such gratitude that she sent a special delegate of highest rank to personally thank our government, and has begun to send five hundred students a year to study in American universities on the income of this sum. All these, and seventeen arbitration treaties were signed in 1908 alone. In 1808 nothing was

signed. At present other and greater treaties than any of these are under negotiation. If ever in history any movement grew so fast, or if any century of moral fulfillment ever opened with such auspicious signs we do not know it. If achievements signify anything, this century should not be far advanced before there will be a general arbitration treaty of all civilized nations agreeing to refer all disputes to a permanent court.

IV

THE UNITED WORLD AGAINST THE COMMON FOES

THESE two things to which we have referred as indications of rapidly growing world unity, Hague conferences and arbitration treaties, are official. They are the direct acts of nations and are participated in by governments. The delegates represent their governments somewhat as an ambassador represents his nation abroad. And while the nation has, afterwards, to ratify what its delegate votes for at The Hague Conference, yet the delegate, as he speaks, is his country speaking before the world.

But there is another kind of international gathering becoming bewilderingly frequent, entirely unofficial in its nature, which is nevertheless almost as indicative of coming international oneness and world federation as are the official gatherings. We refer to the great international and pan-congresses meeting almost weekly during the summer months in various cities of the world. These con-

gresses are peculiarly symptomatic of this century. To be sure they were held in the last century, but they have become one of the most promising features of this century. This century opens with practically every society and organization international, and holding stated world congresses. One has only to think of the great religious institutions to see how true this is. All the denominations of churches, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Christian Endeavour Society, the Missionary Societies hold international congresses. But it is true of all other organizations to-day, of all the scientific societies, the commercial organizations, the trades unions, the socialists, the political and legal associations, the literary and philological movements, the great fraternities, such as the Masons. Indeed any organization to gain general reception to-day must be universal. The day of sectarianism in any kind of truth is passing very fast. Provincialism is almost impossible in the electric thought sympathies of our day. Even religious people are no longer interested in denominational truth. No one longer wants Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist or Episcopal truth. More and more, in-

telligent men do not want American truth. Even patriotism is being transformed into a cosmopolitan interest in the common aspirations and welfare of all lands. A truth to stir one man to-day must be large enough for the needs of all. The writer has had occasion during the first ten years of this century to address hundreds of audiences, of every creed and denomination, and he has found the truth that really stirred them was always that which rose above either religious or political sectarianism, even above nationalism into the universal realm. A truth to really stir America must be big enough for Germany and Great Britain.

A list of organizations that hold international congresses has been made and they number over two hundred. As we said, these organizations all hold stated international congresses more and more frequently. Thus the year 1908 alone witnessed fifteen of these great gatherings and several semi-international congresses to which we cannot here refer. But one cannot follow these gatherings in 1908 without feeling that each one of them put a stone into the rapidly growing temple of human brotherhood and good-will.

For they made, in every instance, the men of many nations one, while the conference lasted, and surely the oneness and the friendship will persist. Let us look at some of these of 1908, for they are typical. In February delegates assembled from all over South America for the express purpose of founding a South American Peace Society, in which every state should have representation. The avowed purpose is that whenever rumours of war arise anywhere in that continent, this society, representing all the nations, shall speak and act to allay the war frenzy or secure the dispute being put to arbitration. At the close of the congress one of the delegates remarked that since all they who were present were convinced that they were brothers *and were ready* to put every dispute to arbitration, there was no reason why they could not make all their fellow-countrymen feel as they did. If this group could only multiply itself into the whole population there would be no war in South America. Yet it is towards this that such a congress tends. For these men are the leaders at home, and they also convert many compatriots to their feeling.

In June, 1908, the great Pan-Anglican

Congress was held in London, followed by the Congress of the Episcopal Bishops. To this congress came delegates from every nation. They were in session for several weeks and not only consulted together how to unitedly further special Christian reforms they had at heart, and how to redeem the backward nations from their darkness, but they gave up special sessions to considering this very plan of federating the world and making a permanent international peace. They could not help doing this. It is in the very air of our century. Not only were most encouraging resolutions passed and brotherly words spoken at their special sessions, but the thought kept cropping out through all the sessions. It leads us to ask what use to redeem the world if some war between two nations is to undo it all and plunge the people back into the darkness of lust and enmity? How can one serve Christ while hating his brother? Why talk about membership in Christ's kingdom being the supreme good when next year some petty quarrel over a strip of land or some silly question of honour,—as if the honour of any man was ever hurt except by himself, or any nation

lost her honour except through her own degenerate acts,—will call forth a narrow nationalism that will sweep all sense of Christian brotherhood to the winds! This Pan-Anglican Congress was followed during the summer in rapid succession by world congresses of the Congregationalists at Edinburgh, the Roman Catholics at London, and the Baptists in Berlin. In all of these congresses this question of the new brotherhood of nations, the common oneness of humanity, the cessation of wars the federation of the world was again and again returned to. No utterance at the International Congregational Congress at Edinburgh, for instance, awakened such hearty response and such volumes of applause as one to the effect that the time had gone by for Christians to be fighting each other when they should altogether be fighting the evil of the world. The best utterances of the congress all rose to this point of human brotherhood, culminating in Dr. Amory H. Bradford's prophetic sermon in St. Gile's Cathedral, with its outlook on the world so united in its common passion for righteousness that nations forgot to quarrel among themselves.

But perhaps the best instance of any, among religious conventions, was the great World's Missionary Congress held in Edinburgh in the summer of 1910. Here every Christian denomination, except two, was represented. Here both national and sectarian lines were broken down in a common enthusiasm for humanity. Here the question of human brotherhood obliterated all mention of gain for any one church or country. Here the necessity of all good men of every nation uniting to fight the sin of all nations brought the folly of international wars home to all. This congress, declared by many to have been the greatest council the Church has ever held, more far-reaching in its influence than the Council of Nice even, became of necessity a great council of international peace.

The nineteenth century witnessed several international peace congresses. The first time men from Europe and America met together to consider the peace of the world was in London in 1843. Elihu Burritt, the great peace prophet, convoked another congress in Brussels in 1848. The most noted of those of the last century was the one held

in Paris in 1849 which had a large attendance and was presided over by Victor Hugo. It was at this congress that Victor Hugo uttered his famous word on armaments.

> "A day will come when a cannon-ball will be exhibited in public museums, just as an instrument of torture is now, and people will be amazed that such a thing could ever have been. A day will come when these two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, will be seen placed in the presence of each other, extending the hand of fellowship across the ocean, exchanging their produce, their industries, their arts, their genius, clearing the earth, peopling the desert, improving creation under the eye of the Creator, and uniting, for the good of all, these two irresistible and infinite powers, the fraternity of men and the power of God."

There were two other nineteenth century congresses, in 1850 and 1851, one in Frankfort and one in London, and then there was a lapse of thirty years before another world peace congress was called in London in 1889. But now they are held statedly every year and are drawing more and more delegates and exercising greater and greater influence. Going from country to country every year they not only exercise

this great world influence by bringing the prophets of all countries together, and by showing the world this yearly spectacle of all the nations in one room talking world harmony and federation, but they make a deep impression on the people where the congress is held. This has been especially noticeable in the congresses of this century held in Paris, Lucerne, Milan, Boston, Munich and London. The congress in London came immediately after the Church congresses of 1908. It was banqueted by the government, and addressed by King Edward VII, the Prime Minister, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Many nations were represented and the deliberations had to be carried on in three languages, French, German and English. In the committee meetings French was used. The writer had the pleasure of serving on one of these committees. As it met morning after morning, no one thought anything about who was American or English or German. One did not even know the nationality of other members unless he had personal acquaintance with them. They were simply men, all striving, not selfishly for national advantage, but for

the reign of justice and good-will in the earth, the substitution of law for war.

This international peace congress was closely followed by two other gatherings which were really peace congresses as they met to consider the harmonious relationships of nations, the International Free Trade Congress in London and the International Law Association in Budapest, Hungary. This latter congress which meets annually is very significant, for it is trying to urge upon the nations a body of international law, which shall be for nations what the national law is for the states in our own country.

In September, 1908, came the Inter-Parliamentary Union at Berlin. This society is so indicative of the international movement, the progress towards world federation, that it deserves special mention. One of the most important organizations in the world to-day, it grew out of the persistent, undaunted efforts of one quiet, humble, inconspicuous man, William Randall Cremer, a lasting example of what one man of average abilities can do, who has one purpose and adheres to it through a lifetime. When a young man working at his trade as carriage painter,

he became involved in some labour troubles. He was successful in getting them arbitrated. The working men returned him to Parliament. The success of arbitration in procuring justice when strikes and lockouts had always settled only which side was strongest and could hold out longest or was best organized, and left ill feeling and suffering behind them, suggested to him its effectiveness in averting wars. He became a lifelong advocate of arbitration treaties. It occurred to him that Great Britain and the United States should set example to the nations. He secured the signatures of a large number of members of Parliament recommending that Great Britain and the United States sign an arbitration treaty. Of his own initiative he came to the United States, and with Mr. Carnegie's assistance got audience with the President of the United States and with members of Congress. He was rather coolly received. The time had hardly come. But the failure of his mission did not daunt him. He knew the thing was right, that it was bound to come, and that the day was breaking when the world would come his way. He had the prophetic outlook. He went back

to England and began to seek the same ends in another direction. He invited the members of the British Parliament and the French Assembly to hold a joint meeting in Paris. Only a few came, but they became interested in his proposition. The next year was the year of the Paris Exposition, and many members of the parliaments and congresses of all the nations would be coming to Paris. He immediately associated with him those British and French members, who had become interested at the previous meeting and called a meeting of all members of all parliaments of the world. His associates were not sanguine. To the surprise of every one except himself, a hundred responded. They talked over what the parliaments of the nations could do to help on the movement for a permanent court, international unity, arbitration treaties and the limitation of armament. They grew to like one another so much and became so interested in the world movement that they organized themselves into the Inter-Parliamentary Union. It is composed only of those who have served in the parliament of some nation. The enthusiasm spread so rapidly that it soon numbered over twenty-five hun-

dred members, a remarkable growth for so short a time. The president is Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, the eminent French leader in international peace. It has met once in the United States, at St. Louis, in September, 1904, at the invitation of the group in the House of Representatives, which numbers about two hundred. Congressman Bartholdt of St. Louis is president of the group in this country. Congress appropriated $50,000 for the entertainment of the foreign delegates. Every European parliament has a parliamentary group in it now. The meeting in London, in 1906, was even larger and more significant, because it put forward a platform of its aims and endeavours in a series of recommendations to the Second Hague Conference as follows:—that it should consider (1) the meeting at stated and regular intervals; (2) limitation of armaments; (3) a general arbitration treaty; (4) immunity of private property at sea in time of war; (5) investigation by a commission of causes of troubles before a declaration of hostilities; (6) a small annual appropriation for the promotion of international good-will and hospitality. The Union meets every two years and

the meeting in Berlin in 1908 was significant from the fact that the German Emperor officially welcomed it through his prime minister, Prince von Bulow, and commended its efforts towards world peace. To see the change from the last century to the present one has only to try to imagine Bismarck welcoming a peace congress. In connection with the Berlin meeting a remarkable labour demonstration was held in Berlin to welcome the labour delegates to the conference in which several thousand German labourers expressed their esteem and their lasting friendship to their foreign brothers. These parliamentarians are of course meeting merely as men and can promulgate no official utterance. Yet their utterances cannot help partaking of a semi-official nature, just as when the President of the United States speaks he, to a certain extent, commits the nation to his words. As a matter of fact the utterances of the Union have had great weight among the nations. Their meetings get wide reporting in the papers. It has impressed upon the world that not only preachers and poets are crying peace but that the lawmakers are assembled making peace and conferring on in-

ternational unity. Furthermore it changes the tempers of the parliaments themselves. Whenever a measure looking towards peace comes up in Congress there is this group committed to it, familiar with the arbitrational aims and ambitions, so that it becomes increasingly easy to get arbitration treaties ratified. The large vote each year in the Congress of the United States against building a great navy to vie with England's and Germany's comes from this group.

The labour unions and Socialists (for the labour party on the continent, that is, the social democracy, is socialistic in its principles) are holding frequent international congresses in this century. It is very encouraging to see that they are taking very advanced steps in this movement for international comradeship. The Socialists of Germany and France, at their conference in Stuttgart in 1907, passed a resolution to the effect that if their homes were invaded, of course they would protect them, but for no other reason would they bear arms one against the other. Class consciousness is very strong among the Socialists, but it is an international class consciousness, and

many economists are feeling that their allegiance to the party or cause is stronger than their feeling of nationality, and their propaganda is already making serious decimation in the armies both of Germany and France. The anti-militarist movement is especially strong in France. The international class consciousness was peculiarly manifested in the execution of Ferrer in Spain in 1909. There was a murmur of indignation and protest heard in every nation of the world. Mr. Harold Gorst, the eminent English critic, recently remarked at a dinner of the New York Peace Society, that in Europe the general hope for peace is centred in the work done by the labour organizations. He said: "We hope that as soon as those organizations achieve their efficiency, they will organize themselves into international bodies to prevent war." The remark caused great comment at the time, because men naturally wondered why the Church, the institution organized especially to preach the gospel of forgiveness, good-will, human brotherhood and justice which Christ practiced, was not mentioned as the hope of the movement whose aim is to supplant power by love,

hatred by forgiveness, war by law, mig it by justice.

It saddens the writer's heart to have to say that the feeling among many reformers in Europe, as he has talked with them, is that other organizations are more Christian than the established churches. The state churches follow governments rather than lead them, and are invariably the last institutions to give up an old and outgrown political theory. Here is a sentence from Paul Sabatier's "An Open Letter to His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons," "High-minded and at the same time modest, reserved and also resolute, France realizes that the day has dawned for mankind to take a new step towards peace among the nations. She desires peace firmly, not from weakness or closeness, but because wars are become to her both wicked and foolish. Now in these thoughts that engross her attention, in these dreams she cannot shake off, France had hoped to have the Church at her side to direct and encourage her. This juncture came not." The absence of clergymen at the peace congresses in Europe is a very marked phenomenon, and often commented upon. There are, however, many clergymen among

the independent churches of Great Britain who are taking bold and prophetic stand. In the United States the churches are becoming a great factor in the movement. At the meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ held in Philadelphia, in 1909, splendid resolutions were passed after some really prophetic addresses. As we noticed above, the Pan-Anglican Conference in London spoke more emphatically than it has ever done before. Unfortunately the Anglican church, as the established church of England, has been quiet in the face of the recent recrudescence of militarism. But the time has come for the Church all over the world to rise up and say, "Man killing and Christianity have no part together, and it must stop now and forever. Membership in the kingdom of God is greater than citizenship in any country. All good men are one and can have no enemies except bad men, and goodness knows nothing of national boundaries. All men are my brothers." "I came not to destroy but to save," is the only possible word of any church calling itself Christian. When the Church discovers the Sermon on the Mount there will be great things happening in the world—the angels

will sing again over its hills and fields. The Church must hurry, though, otherwise Count Tolstoi or the trades unions or the Socialists will find it first.

The last of the great congresses of 1908 was the International Tuberculosis Congress at Washington. Practically every great nation was represented, and there has been no finer illustration of the new tendency for men of all nations to get together to make war against the common scourges of mankind. Tuberculosis is a preventable disease. Only three things keep it with us, selfishness, ignorance and foolishness. We are greedy and keep our money, or we are ignorant, not knowing what our money will do; or we are foolish and spend it on battle-ships. When we grow Christian and wise, we will banish several diseases at once. But it is a sign of the new era that physicians of all nations are meeting together very frequently now, not to fight each other, but to fight disease.

As we remarked, none of these two hundred international congresses are official, yet we sometimes think they hasten world unity as much as meetings of delegates appointed by governments. Where constitutional gov-

ernment exists, every individual is his nation to some degree, and speaks for it. However this may be, the very meeting of men of different nations together renders wars less probable and possible and puts one more link in the golden chain of brotherhood that is slowly binding the world together. Where men of different nations used to meet to dispute and wrangle and sue for each other's rights, now they are meeting from churches, societies, and unions, to fight together the common enemies of them all, sin, disease, greed, intemperance, injustice, vice, opium, slavery, war, all these things. There is no stronger bond of union than a common crusade against a common foe. They discover too, that their real enemies are not each other, but the universal plagues we have mentioned. "How foolish we have been," they are saying. "Here we have been fighting one another, thinking we were one another's enemies, while the real enemies have been lurking in all our nations, banded against us all, and laughing while we fought each other!" Race prejudice leads to wars. But these growing conferences of all the races are breaking this down. We hate those

we do not know. They seem so different that they are repugnant. We work together for a month and find the German, Frenchman, Hungarian, all the others, are very much like ourselves. Under the different languages, skins, temperaments, customs, the hearts are the same colour and speak one language. They have the same problems, the same ambitions, the same sorrows, the same joys. They soon find as they talk together of their common plans for world betterment that they forget their nationality and are known to one another only as Christians, or seekers for the common truth, or reformers, or builders together of the City of God, whose foundations rest in every land, but whose superstructure spreads unbroken over all. They learn to know each other's finer and better qualities. They can see no more reason why Germans should kill Frenchmen than why Germans should slay Germans. They go home with kindliest feelings and with a new patriotism in their hearts which expresses itself, not so much in a blind and exclusive devotion to one nation as in a sense of world citizenship and devotion to humanity and justice for all men. These con-

gresses also get widely reported in the press of the different nations. As we write the proceedings of the World Congress on Foreign Missions are being printed in the journals of every land. This gradually induces in the peoples of the world the habit of thinking in world terms. All Christians are bound together for a while in thought, against the darkness of the world. We have been for ages thinking in terms of nationality. Every one of these congresses cultivates the habit of thinking in terms of internationality. Again, those who attend these congresses learn how much we all need each other, how much we of one nation need those of all the others. So much that has worth and that has entered into our very being—religion, literature, art, music, law, and invention—has come to us from other peoples. At every one of these congresses, where each nation brings its own contribution, and an offering necessary to make a perfect whole of thought, an offering which remedies some weakness or provincialism, men learn that one nation has need of all the others. The watchword of the last century was independence. The watchword of the new century is coming to

be interdependence. Every one of these international congresses makes for that world citizenship which Lowell sings:

"Where is the true man's fatherland?
Is it where he by chance is born?
Doth not the yearning spirit scorn
In such scant borders to be spanned?
Oh, yes! his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven wide and free!

"Is it alone where freedom is,
Where God is God and man is man?
Doth he not claim a broader span
For the soul's love of home than this?
Oh, yes! his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven wide and free!

"Where'er a human heart doth wear
Joy's myrtle-wreath or sorrow's gyves,
Where'er a human spirit strives
After a life more true and fair,
There is the true man's birthplace grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland!

"Where'er a single slave doth pine,
Where'er one man may help another,—
Thank God for such a birthright, brother,—
That spot of earth is thine and mine!
There is the true man's birthplace grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland!"

V

INTERNATIONAL HOSPITALITY

THE fourth characteristic of the twentieth century making for world unity is perhaps the newest and most dramatically interesting of all—the practice of international hospitality. It bears within itself great promise for increasing good understanding among men. One of the commonest causes of war is ignorance of other people. Suspicions, contrary to the arguments of those who seek vast armaments, are based upon distance rather than nearness. Races, which in Europe, separated by stiff boundary lines of fortresses, lived in constant suspicion of each other, in New York, thrown all together, fairly huddled into a heap, live on the best of terms and lose race animosities. The Jew in New York, interwoven into the very structure and fabric of the Gentile community as he is, is much more free from Gentile persecution than he is in Europe where he mixes not with the Gentiles. Everything that

brings the nations more closely together, that mixes the people up, makes quarrels less and less probable. No one can ever tell how much the immigration of the European people into the United States has done to make war almost impossible between this country and any of the European nations. Shall we make war against Germany? Turn to Milwaukee then, for Milwaukee is Germany. Shall we attack Sweden? Let us begin with Minneapolis then, for Minneapolis is Sweden. There is a bigger Italian city in the heart of New York than there is in Italy. A large part of Canada is spreading over New England. One little town in Eastern Connecticut has twice as many French Canadians in it as it has Americans. Immigration has been a great factor in decreasing the warlike spirit, simply because it has revealed to men that what they have in common is much greater than their racial peculiarities. The growth of continental travel has helped the nations cultivate the cosmopolitan and universal spirit. It has taken the provincialism out of those who travel and out of those who are visited. The Germans are becoming as great travellers as the people of the United States,

as they prosper under the new industrial revival. Every German village storekeeper takes his summer tour in France, Switzerland and Italy. This travel is doing much to establish better feeling between Germany and France and among the other nations of Europe. The great number of Americans who have an interest in the new internationalism are doing good, for they talk with their European brothers on the folly of militarism. But when we get to know our foreign brother he is no longer a foreigner. He very much resembles ourselves. We find that other men of other lands are struggling after the same ideals we are seeking and have the same aches, the same sorrows, the same loves, the same joys, the same problems of life to solve. Nearness shows how true Shylock's words are: "Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is?" The real good is common to us all. We are fast learning that the ties which bind us to humanity are much

stronger than those that link us to one exclusive land.

Now extending and strengthening all these ties already made, deepening our common appreciation of one another, has come this new force of international hospitality, the exchange of visits of the prominent men of one country with those of another, either in an official or simply representative character, one nation inviting the representatives of other nations to be its guests. This hospitality began with the exchange of university professors and students. There has always been a sort of republic of letters above national boundaries, and democracy has been native to student bodies from earliest times. Students from all over Europe flocked to Paris centuries ago, and there is record of exchanges—that is, students of Paris residing for a term at Oxford, while the students of Oxford attended Paris. But it is only of recent years that these exchanges have become a habit. The United States exchanges regularly now with the universities of Berlin, Paris and Scandinavia. Such men as Professors Burgess and Felix Adler from Columbia, W. S. Scofield from Harvard, A. T. Hadley

from Yale have been to Berlin University lecturing for the whole year. Such men as Professors Barrett Wendell and Bliss Perry of Harvard, and Henry Van Dyke of Princeton, have lectured for a term at the Sorbonne in Paris, and then have visited the universities of the provinces of France. Such men as Presidents MacCracken of New York University, Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, and Professor Samuel T. Dutton of Teacher's College have been to the Scandinavian universities at their invitation. At the same time professors from Germany, France and the Scandinavian countries are spending terms at the American universities. This exchange of professors has done much to create good-will not only in the way of sending the professor home again with a devoted friendship to the land he has visited expressing itself afterwards in such devoted tributes to them as Professor Wendell's "France of To-day," but the lectures these men give are interpretative of the best there is in their land. What a different conception of America, for instance, must France have after hearing Professor Van Dyke's course on "The Spirit

of America," or Denmark have after hearing President Butler on "The American as He Is," or Norway and Sweden have after hearing Professor Dutton on "Ideals of American Education." It will be much harder for these countries to make war upon each other after these exchanges.

This exchange of professors and such visits as those of teachers of one country to study the educational methods of another as Mr. Mosely is arranging, are now being followed by the exchange of students. Berlin University has recently had French students as its guests as the Sorbonne has had German students. The Rhode's scholarships provide for American students living at Oxford long enough to understand something of England. Harvard University has invited students from Berlin as guests. The Carnegie Institute of Pittsburg entertained three Scandinavian students as its guests during 1909–1910. Niels Poulson, Esq., an eminent American of Danish birth, was so pleased with the success of this exchange that he has set aside $100,000 for the use of the American Scandinavian Foundation for bringing Scandinavian students to this country. Japanese

students are attending our American universities in large numbers every year. All of these students of different lands become peacemakers between the nations. One reason Scotland has not shown the same dread of Germany England is constantly manifesting is because so many of her best men have studied in Germany and understand her. One of the best influences in preventing the silly talk of war between Japan and the United States by some of our shallow demagogues making mischief on both sides, has been that exerted by the large number of Japanese who were educated in this country.

When one looks out upon the larger field, the growth of this custom of international hospitality in the last ten years has been something remarkable. We cannot catalogue all these visits here, but they are so significant and produce such immediate results that it will be worth our while to look at two or three of the most striking. Feeling has been running high between England and Germany for the last ten years. The tension is the outgrowth of many things. Germany has grown to be a great industrial nation, a great commercial world power, a

dominating influence in European politics by leaps and bounds. To see how her commerce has extended, one has only to trace the routes of the Hamburg-American Steamship Line on a map of the world. With this rapid expanse she began to build war-ships to protect her trade. This added to the alarm England already felt, and she began to build great ships. This was the opportunity of the shipbuilders and the admirals, so they started war scares to get more ships. The newspapers of one nation began to make innuendos against the other nation. Tension was rather high, when it occurred to Mr. W. T. Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, and other editors who wanted peace instead of war, to invite a group of German editors to England as their guests. The German editors came and it was a happy three weeks for them. The next year they returned the compliment and invited a large group of English editors to be their guests. Their entertainment was lavish. Every city they visited outdid the last in good-will and welcome. Even the Bavarian people turned the visit into a festival and danced and sang. The city of Munich was beautifully decorated

and the artists residing there produced an original play for the occasion. They were received by the Emperor and leading statesmen, and the hope was everywhere expressed that the cordial relations existing between the nations might be deepened and strengthened with the years. The significant thing is this —the immediate results of this exchange of hospitalities between German and British editors was a change of tone of the press in both countries. The previous innuendos, malicious misrepresentations, caricatures, suspicions, provocative paragraphs, keeping before each country all the time distorted pictures of the other, and the constant imputing of evil motives, disappeared. The tone of the editorials changed completely. They became fuller of friendly spirit and appreciation.

Growing out of this visit of the editors another exchange was arranged between Great Britain and Germany that was certainly as productive of good feeling as that of the editors. In the spring of 1908, one hundred German pastors, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, were the guests of the British pastors for several days, the visit ending

with a great meeting in London in which the pastors of both lands deprecated the constant talk of hatred between the two countries, and pledged one another to do their utmost, in their own countries, to strengthen the ties of friendship and unity. A remarkable address was given by Dr. Dryander, the great German preacher, in which he said that for him, as for John Wesley, "the world was his parish," not any single land. In 1909, this visit was reciprocated and a group of British pastors of every denomination visited Germany as the guests of the German pastors. They crossed the North Sea in a yacht put at their disposal. Their tour through Germany was a triumphal procession. The Emperor greeted them and everywhere they went there were the same protestations of friendship. What is most remarkable in all this has been the more and more outspoken conviction that the common Christian tie was stronger than nationality and that the conflicts of the future must not be between nation and nation, but between all Christians and all the evil forces of the world. The followers of Jesus Christ, though living in different lands, ought to be bound

together by stronger ties than bind a disciple and an enemy of Him in the same nation. This would of course mean the end of all international war at once. Hitherto the feeling of nationality, the old patriotism of "my country right or wrong," has been stronger than Christianity in the Christian breast. But now the kingdom is assuming chiefer interest in our hearts than the country. While speaking of Great Britain it should be noted that just at the time of this writing in 1913 a large delegation of the P. S. A. Brotherhood of England (the P. S. A. Brotherhood is made up largely of ministers and labour leaders and exists to propagate the social teachings of Christianity) visited France and Belgium and were received with great demonstrations in some of the large industrial centres, and speeches were made by Keir Hardie, the popular labour leader, and H. Jeffs, the well-known editor, of London. Mr. Jeffs remarked amid much cheering that "France and England had met on five hundred battle-fields. Let their future rivalries be on the sunlit fields of civilization, the fields of the arts and industries, and above all in the divine work of uplifting the

race to a higher level of physical, social, and moral well-being."

These instances suffice to show the promise of good-will among men that is in the movement. It is growing with great strides. The recent visit of the San Francisco merchants to Japan and the return visit of fifty eminent Japanese merchants to this country in 1910 did much to allay the ill-feeling the advocates of a great navy try to arouse every year between Japan and the United States. There is rumour at this writing of a plan to invite a large delegation of the best Americans,—clergymen, editors, publicists, professors and business men,—to Japan for a two months' stay. It is too bad that this country instead of sending its fleet to Japan could not have sent a hundred of its most representative citizens, those who do its thinking, and lead in its higher life, the men who represent our new idealism rather than the old and passing military order. Then the Japanese would have seen our real greatness which is not in our brute power and cannon but in our moral and intellectual power and our love of justice. In 1907, Mr. Carnegie invited some forty eminent men

from the various nations of Europe to be his guests for a time in this country, and to attend the dedication of the Pittsburg Institute and Technical Schools and the great National Congress of Peace and Arbitration held in New York. One of these guests remarked at the time: "This visit in itself will do almost as much to cement good feeling as the Peace Congress."

Here is a new field of generosity where philanthropists can do much good. Some are already following Mr. Carnegie's example. Mr. Edwin Ginn, the founder of the World's Peace Foundation, has twice brought that fervid apostle of universal brotherhood, Rev. Walter Walsh, of Dundee, Scotland, to America to address American audiences. This habit should be multiplied at once until not only single lecturers may be invited as guests, but whole groups of every profession and calling, including groups of labour leaders, may be frequently the guests of their co-workers in other lands. But better still, governments themselves should undertake this hospitality. Already there are signs of their doing this. Denmark is appropriating a small sum yearly for peace purposes,

part of which is to go towards hospitality. In June, 1907, Great Britain voted quite a sum for this very purpose and almost the first use of it was in giving a dinner to the delegates from foreign lands attending the International Peace Congress in July of the same year. The United States should have been the first to have made such an annual appropriation. Congress did appropriate $50,000 towards entertaining the foreign delegates to the meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in St. Louis in 1902, and has in this year of 1910 appropriated a small sum towards the expenses of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. The United States is spending annually $282,147,000 for needless battleships and munitions for future wars, evidently believing the best way to keep peace is to put a great bulldog in the front yard. Soon she will see that battle-ships breed animosities while friendliness towards other nations breeds peace, and will appropriate large sums to bring guests from other parliaments to be the guests of our Congress. This will bring international peace at about one one-thousandth of the present cost. Nations learn, only it takes long, long time.

VI

MANY OTHER SIGNS OF THE NEW UNITY

BESIDES these four groups of facts, which have been almost startling in their rapid accumulation, there has been a constant succession of events which, while not coming under classification in these groups, are as significant and are equally surprising to those who know the temper of the nineteenth century. Few of the most radical peace workers would have dared to prophesy twenty-five years ago that the first decade of the twentieth century would have witnessed the following things. Thus, first of all, peace societies are springing up everywhere with remarkable spontaneity in this twentieth century. One peace society has been in existence many years—the American Peace Society—founded in 1815. It has prepared the way for the sudden and spontaneous popular interest in the movement. This has been practically the only widely known peace society of the nineteenth century. The twentieth century is

witnessing formation of societies on every side. In 1906 the vigorous and already widely influential Peace Society of the City of New York came into existence. Societies are springing up in all parts of the country; they are growing rapidly in Europe as in America; their number is now many. At the same time societies in schools and colleges are multiplying. The School Peace League, coextensive with state and national teacher's associations; the cosmopolitan clubs, composed of students of all the nations in our colleges; the Corda Fratres in the continental universities; the large societies of foreigners who have come to America, such as the American-Scandinavian Society, the German-American Peace Society, the Japan Society of New York—are all significant indications of the direction thought and feeling are taking in our day. The membership of these societies is also significant. In the last century they were made up largely of Friends—who have always been idealists—and other prophetic men, those who have been able to see righteousness and dared follow it—clergymen and seers. But now the so-called practical men are in the membership of the so-

ciety. A New York Peace Society dinner looks like a banquet of the Chamber of Commerce. This is all a sign that the movement has become so universal and sure of success that the multitude gathers to it. It is the sure movement of our day.

Another thing worth noticing is the great frequency with which peace conferences are being held. We refer more especially here to national conferences. We have already spoken of the great annual international peace congresses and meetings of the interparliamentary union. But the growth of peace congresses in America in this century has been phenomenal. The greatest of these has been the Annual Lake Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration, established by that ardent lover of justice, Albert K. Smiley, just before this century opened. At first attended largely by members of the peace cult, they are now composed of the leading statesmen, jurists, clergymen, editors, college presidents and financiers of the land. Perhaps no single influence has been so potent as these conferences in the universal peace movement. The movement towards international courts and arbitration treaties

has received large impulse from these annual conferences. One of its most marked achievements has been the interesting of chambers of commerce all over the country in the peace movement. Now these great congresses are becoming very frequent. The First National Peace Congress, held in New York in May, 1907, was organized by the American Peace Society and the Peace Society of New York working in coöperation. It was one of the most successful congresses of any kind ever held. Thousands came to it, and its closing dinner filled the two largest dining-rooms in New York. Its speakers represented all lands and all professions. Since then the American Peace Society has organized two congresses—one in Chicago, one in Hartford. All of these societies hold frequent dinners, at which the leading men of the nation speak. Their words go around the world. One of the most interesting dinners ever given in New York was that given by the Peace Society to ex-Secretary Root. The speakers were the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, the United States delegate to The Hague; ex-Secretary of State Elihu Root; Ambassador James Bryce; President Taft;

Ambassador Nabuco, from Brazil; Baron Takahira, Ambassador from Japan. Their addresses were all emphatic pronouncements that the time for wars between nations had passed; the time for courts and treaties had come. The significant thing is that twenty years ago it would have been impossible to have given a dinner with such men speaking for peace.

Another indication of the popular interest in the peace movement is the changed attitude of the press. Formerly the daily journals hardly noticed the peace movement. If they did it was to speak contemptuously of it. Now they report the speeches made at peace conferences almost more fully than any other addresses. This is a sure sign that the people at large are interested, for, with the exception of three or four papers in the United States, no journal reports what is important or worthy so freely as what they think people most want to see. Ten years ago an editorial on the peace movement was rarely seen in the papers; now all great dailies and several weeklies throughout the country have frequent editorials on the subject. Two prominent weekly papers of New York, *The Christian*

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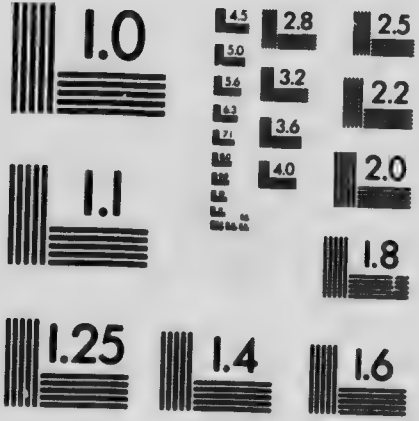

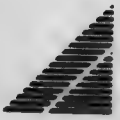

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Work and *The Independent*, have articles in every issue on the international movement by the various leaders of the movement. Peace addresses are becoming so common in all parts of the world that the papers have to keep the subject continually before the people. This is one of the most promising things for the movement. People form thought habits. They think in terms of that which is continually before them. If the papers are full, all the time, of war and battle-ships, men will think in terms of war and force. If they are full of arbitration and arbitral courts of justice, soon people will begin to think in terms of arbitration and courts, and when a dispute arises between two nations the people will instinctively say arbitration instead of war. The press has great power here if it would only lead, instead of following far in the rear. It ought to see, by this time, that this century is rapidly substituting law for war, and talk law now, instead of devoting its pages to descriptions of naval encounters of the future and fights in the air between air-ships of various nations, which will never occur. But the press has shown a great change in the past ten years in this re-

gard. It is more and more with the movement and daily some paper joins the movement with a surprising editorial.

Perhaps nothing has done more to give the peace movement remarkable impulse and dignify it as a permanent and universal interest, as well as to show how great men of affairs are leading in it, than the gifts of Edwin Ginn of Boston and Andrew Carnegie of New York. In 1909 Edwin Ginn established the World Peace Foundation with an endowment of $1,000,000. This institution is already engaged in active peace propaganda all over the country. At Washington, in December, 1910, Andrew Carnegie announced a gift of $10,000,000 to the world, to be held by a body of trustees which he named, the annual income of which, half a million dollars, is to be used for the furtherance of the permanent peace of nations. The announcement has sent a thrill of encouragement through all the world. The income is to be used, at the discretion of the trustees, in all ways that may hasten the universal adoption of arbitration treaties, and the establishment of the Supreme Courts of Nations, the Court of Arbitral Justice at The Hague, whose temple, presented by

Mr. Carnegie, is already rising in its prophetic splendour. Mr. Carnegie's great Hero Funds, in the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany, are really peace funds, for their use is restricted to the heroisms of peace, and are in emphasis of the gospel Mr. Carnegie is so forcibly preaching by pen and voice that the men who save life, not those who take it, are the real heroes of the world.

The adoption of the cause by the great statesmen, publicists and rulers in the United States, Great Britain and France is one of the most far-reaching influences, as well as happy omen, of the century's strides towards brotherhood. In the United States such men as Secretaries of State Hay, Root and Knox have all been great workers for international arbitration. Secretary Hay interested himself in unifying South America; Secretary Root signed twenty-three arbitration treaties; Secretary Knox has sent a plan for an Arbitral Court of Justice to the nations, and is making many splendid peace addresses. In Congress are such ardent peace workers as Representatives Bartholdt and Tawney and Foster, and such advocates of law in place of vast navies as Senators Burton and

Hale. The late Associate Justice Brewer was an ardent worker for international peace. Ex-Secretary John W. Foster has rendered valuable service at The Hague and at home, both through diplomacy and books. Our leading statesmen are fast joining the movement, only those who lack prophetic vision and are bound in the fetters of a passing militarism remaining out of it. Our leading college presidents, clergymen, professors, editors and business men are everywhere more and more seeing that it is the movement of the day. But best of all the presidents of the United States are becoming prophets and leaders of the movement. President Taft has publicly taken his stand with the most radical peace advocates in his now world-famous speech before the Peace and Arbitration League in New York, in April, 1910, when he openly declared himself as favouring the inclusion of all subjects, even those of vital honour, in the arbitration treaties of the future. This is the most radical peace utterance that any head of nations has yet made. But the significant thing is that any king or emperor or president should have made the remark. At the dedication in Washington

of the beautiful palace for the Bureau of American Republics, given by Andrew Carnegie, Esq., when Mr. Carnegie, Senator Root and Secretary Knox all made peace addresses, President Taft again spoke radically, to the effect that no two nations of the American continent had any right to go to war and disturb all the others, and that he hoped the time would soon come when the nineteen nations would say to the other two preparing for war, "You must stop!" Again at the banquet of the Society for the Settlement of International Disputes, held in Washington, December 17, 1910, President Taft said: "If now we can negotiate and put through a positive agreement with some great nation to abide the adjudication of an international arbitral court in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honour, territory or money, we shall have made a long step forward by demonstrating that it is possible for two nations at least to establish as between them the same system of due process of law that exists between individuals under a government." Ex-President Roosevelt, while being still, unfortunately, unable to speak on this great

subject without qualification and reservations, has nevertheless come out strongly in his speech before the Nobel Commission, at Christiania, for a permanent court, arbitration treaties, simultaneous limitation of armaments and a league of peace. Much to the surprise of even the most sanguine, Congress has lately made an appropriation of $10,000 for a commission to study means of world-federation and disarmament, with the end of securing permanent peace. What is true of the United States is also true, although in a lesser degree, of the European nations. The late King Edward VII has been universally referred to as the Peacemaker. It was a title he delighted in. He was much interested in the movement for international peace and took every opportunity to further the growing sentiment in Europe for arbitration. The English Parliament has a large group of peace workers, among whom the labour leaders, like Keir Hardie, are very prominent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the Liberal forces of England, David Lloyd-George, is a radical peace man. In France Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, one of France's leading Senators, is also the

leader of the peace workers of that nation. Emperor William of Germany is taking every opportunity to apologize for his army, on the ground that he keeps it up to preserve the peace of Europe. He is making frequent peace speeches. All this was unheard of in the last century. It is becoming the common custom of the new.

We will not attempt to enlarge upon another significant fact of this new century, namely, the sudden and prolific production of books and pamphlets on the movement for international unity, world peace and international law. But we will turn to what is perhaps, after all, the surest promise of the federation of the nations, the unity of the races, the brotherhood of man, namely, those subtle, spiritual awakenings and movements of this century—movements whose motions one cannot tabulate, but which are the most potent forces for the new world, as spiritual and ethical forces are always greatest. These movements are very pronounced. They show the mood, the temper, the trend of the century. The first and greatest of these new facts is this: we are at last passing up into that realm of ethics where we are seeing that

the same ethic is binding upon groups of people that controls and determines the relations of individuals to each other. The trouble has been that we have been living under two standards of ethics—Christian for individuals, pagan for groups, communities, nations. We have demanded that individuals live as Christians towards each other, but have complacently allowed corporations and nations to live as pirates towards each other. But there is no such a thing as a double standard of ethics in the kingdom of God. That which is right for a man is right for the state; that which is wrong for a man to do is wrong for a corporation or nation to do. Taking things or land that do not belong to one is just as much stealing when done by a nation as when done by a man. If it is wrong for me to take revenge, it is wrong for a nation to take revenge. If it is wrong for me to settle my difficulties on the street with my fists, it is wrong for the nations to settle their difficulties on the seas with gunboats. Nations are under the same law of charity and forgiveness as individuals in any system of ethics that can last. The law of my country towards Japan is the law that governs me in

my relations with my brother in my town. If it is wrong for me to kill my brother on the streets of my city, it is just as wrong for a nation to destroy a brother nation in this beautiful world. Both the Church and the nation have been full of this spurious, double, unchristian morality. It has been largely responsible for rotten, thievish business methods of some corporations and insurance companies, for the corruption in civic and national life, as well as for the unchristian relationships of nations. It is passing very fast, and the most hopeful augury of a new internationalism is this arising in the race conscience of a morality really Christian and single, in which communities and nations are accountable at the same bar of righteousness as is a man.

Another movement gathering great headway in our century is the revival of the social gospel in the Church and in the world of all good men. The gospel of the last century was directed towards saving the individual out of the evil of the world, and it laid great stress on the bliss awaiting the saved one in the world to come. The Church can never neglect personal religion, for man's individual

oneness with God is a great factor in his life. But the Church is now seeing that its final object is not so much saving one man out of a corrupt society and social order into heaven as the redeeming of the very order itself, so that the will of God shall be done on earth as it is in heaven. This new, social, consciousness is giving birth to a great revival of humaneness and is imparting to the Church the determination to build the kingdom of God, the beautiful city of God in the earth. Consequently she is driving out every evil that makes the kingdom impossible and degrades God's little children. A great campaign against child labour, the saloon, corrupt politics, unjust economic conditions, the exploitation of the weak and the foreigner, against all that makes the kingdom impossible and debases men has begun. Hatred between races, wars between nations, are the worst of these degrading forces. The moral damage of war is worse than the physical suffering it brings, as Rev. Walter Walsh, D.D., has shown in his recent remarkable book, "The Moral Damage of War." Wars destroy the Christian nurture of centuries. They let loose again the worst lusts, passions and

hatreds of men. They plunge nations back again into paganism. The new social gospel is already attacking it, along with all those evils that make the coming of the Christ-spirit into the social fabric impossible, for the kingdom of Christ must be built up on the law of love and not that of force. If the Church should say to-morrow, "Wars must stop; arbitration must be resorted to," wars would stop. But the whole logic of her present thinking will make her say so before the twentieth century is half gone.

The one word that is on all men's lips to-day is the brotherhood of man. It is passing up out of the world of sentiment into a working gospel. In America it is rapidly becoming a fact in spite of occasional relapses. It is seen in the mingling of all the races in America. Dr. Edward Everett Hale used to call the United States the greatest peace society in existence. He had in mind the forty-six states living together without wars between each other. Perhaps he also had in mind the fact that fifty once hostile races now live, house to house, in friendship and peace. What effect this can have on the peace of the world has been lucidly pointed out in Jane

Addams' "Newer Ideals of Peace." However this may be, brotherhood of man is attracting more response in our day than the older style of patriotism, which saw no good outside its own border. The many labour organizations and the social democracy of Europe, with all their shortcomings, are yet a groping towards brotherhood. Democracy is coming to its own in this century, and democracy, in its ideals at least, is brotherhood—a state where the ruling principle is, All for each and each for all. Democracy and war are incompatible, as this century will prove.

One other sign of the coming of the reign of law in this century is, to some minds, the most convincing of all, namely, that all our thinking to-day is gathering about the principle of evolution, and evolution is only nature's way of passing from brute to spirit. This law has *never* failed in any other field of operation. In every sphere of human action the brute, the physical, has passed on up into the spiritual and the realm of moral law. One instance will suffice: Once men settled all disputes by fierce, unregulated, hand-to-hand fights. Then this single combat came

to be governed by men. This, in turn, was superseded by the duel. The duel is much higher than a fist fight, because the element of regulation enters in. But the duel was outgrown. Men had risen to courts, and as men have increased in virtue courts are not used so much. Men are learning to forbear and forgive. Now, if war should show any signs of coming under the same principle, what sane man can believe the principle will break down here, where it has not in any other case? It will not. It cannot. Evolution does not break down! It is God operating, and when God begins He finishes. But war has come under the principle. It has gone a long way under it. Once wars were the normal state of society. Now all agree they are abnormal and peace is normal. Once wars were continuous and peace occasional. Now peace is continuous and war occasional. The occasions are growing further and further apart all the time. Once war was the profession of all able-bodied men, except the priests. In the United States peace is the profession of everybody and soldiering thought less and less of as a trade. Once war was unregulated; now there are a hundred humane laws,

the two Hague Conferences having added many new ones to those which had already gradually grown up with the years. Once nations freely made wars for pillage and plunder. To-day no nation would think of such a thing, nor dare to carry it out if she did. A war to-day must at least have the semblance of rights defended or justice sought as an excuse. Once every dispute was settled by war. Now fully one-third of international disputes are put out of the zone where war is possible by existing arbitration treaties. And he who reads can see that the peace talk to-day is more than holding its own, and gradually displacing the war talk. Shall the law of evolution in this regard stop short here, let us ask again, when it has fulfilled itself in every other spiritual principle? Shall God fail here after having gone so wonderfully far? Who can think so, especially to-day, when some think they even catch glimpses of that reign of law that is to supersede war?

VII

THE OBSTACLES IN THE WAY

BEFORE turning, in our last chapter, to consider the things that should immediately be done, let us for a moment see some of the obstacles in the way of the movement towards the substitution of law for war and the unifying of the interests of mankind. We shall find these obstacles of three sorts, those that are old and linger on, which have always been and which will naturally yield before the new order as the old is always supplanted by the new; those which arise as the new comes, to grapple with it, just as the new always arouses unheard-of enemies; and those which are born out of the disturbing of the things that have always been. For one great enemy of the new is that group of men who dread change of any sort, fearing even change for the better, lest they be disturbed by the loss of business—for disarmament will revolutionize all the business of the world. Under these three general classes are found all the obstacles.

They are not small. The enemies of peace are legion and the success of internationalism is awaking its enemies to their most vigorous fight. That they must give way is patent to any prophetic eye. Their very frenzy is sign of their desperation. But they have great forces behind them—the past, and conservatism, two terrific forces, and these things which we will now briefly mention, one by one. They must yield, but we can defeat them more quickly if we know just what they are.

There is the fact that the whole political and social structure of Europe is based on militarism. In Germany, for instance, it not only underlies all the state, but it is interwoven through the whole social fabric and is bred into the very bones of the people. Every man serves in the army. The army is considered the school of the nation. The nation is thought to rest on the army. The Emperor and princes are always uniformed as soldiers. This army is always in sight. It is the most honourable profession. The soldier has, until very recently, outranked the poet, philosopher, university professor, and statesman. It is the highest social rank.

A member of the Reichstag can marry his cook if he wishes to; an army officer cannot marry the most famous opera singer because she has taken money for service. It is to the army the young men look for success and promotion, as in the United States they look to business or professions. The army being so much in evidence, the boys and girls, the men and women, all the people think in military terms;—the language and literature are coloured by it. To millions no other order of society ever entered their minds until this century. Even the church has been linked up with it and has been little more prophetic than the state. The very news of Hague Conferences has been bewildering to them. To some German villagers with whom we once talked in a country town in Bavaria, it was all as mystifying and unbelievable as the New Jerusalem coming down out of heaven. They hoped it could be true, but they could not see how a state could exist apart from militarism any more than we can conceive of a city where there is no law. Then, too, of course the whole economic order is determined by this military system. Half the

young men are supported for a while in the army. The women work in streets and fields in consequence. All business is governed by it. One can easily see the remarkable industrial, agricultural and commercial revolution that has got to take place with the release of these hundreds and thousands to productive labour. To change Europe from a world based on militarism to one based on industry and law is no small task even were all agreed it was better.

But all are not agreed that it is better, and so we have a second obstacle, namely, those who either believe in militarism, or who want it retained because of ambition, employment or commercial gain. The number of those who believe in militarism as the best order are growing smaller and smaller under the influence of the new democracy. They are perhaps few in America. But there are many in Europe. Not long ago one of Germany's leading statesmen wrote a long pamphlet against arbitration courts, insisting that the nation would lose both its self-respect and its vigour if it entered into a general arbitration treaty, and that that was the strongest and livest nation having the only one source

of permanency, which was strong enough to act independently of other nations and defend its honour at any time. This feeling is still strong in Europe. It is natural, because Europe has been suckled at the breasts of militarism. The older men can see no other foundation for nationality or independence or safety. That will pass. But there is a more insistent foe—namely, that great number of army and navy officers who see power slipping from their hands with the process of disarmament and the great industrial trusts which grow fat on $12,000,000 battle-ships, millions of rifles, tons of powder, uniforms, provisions, and other things. In most European nations, and to some extent in our own, the military party have a firm grip on the reins of government. How easily they could work England into a war scare and make her vote millions of pounds of her very livelihood away for a lot of dreadnaughts for which she has no more need than she has for Chinese junks has recently been seen. Disarmament means loss of power for them; Hague Courts and arbitration treaties loss of every occupation. They are fighting their most desperate game

now both in Europe and America. The greatest tribute to the growth of the peace cause is their desperation. But danger lurks here. Even in our own country they are leaguing themselves with the great trusts whose interests are also at stake, and using every possible means to stimulate the growth of militarism. Such men as President Nicholas Murray Butler, Dr. Charles E. Jefferson and Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, have recently called attention to the activity at Washington of the officers of the various steel, nickel, powder, oil trusts and others in connection with appropriations for vast navies. The Navy League has been formed to fire the minds of youth with the glory of war-ships. Great naval parades are organized and fleets sent round the world, thus keeping the glory of the navy before the people in spectacular manner. Every year, just when the bill for big battle-ships goes into Congress, somebody suddenly learns that Japan is meditating an attack upon us. We hear a good deal about putting rifle practice into public schools, and establishing chairs to teach college men to kill their brothers at first shot. There is much danger

here. But the very panic of energy into which these men have been thrown, their attacks on the peace movement, their attempts to minimize the work of The Hague Conference is a sign of the anachronism of their presence in this new century. They belong to the century that is gone.

Another obstacle to be overcome is the lingering hold of the old form of patriotism which identifies love of one's own country with a blind allegiance to her course whether right or wrong, with the mistrust of other nations and with military service and guns. One of the happiest omens is that this is rapidly changing. The public schools are gradually broadening their thought of allegiance to country and considering the heroes of peace, and the opportunity of heroism in every-day civic and social spheres. But much of the older form of patriotism lingers. It is seen in the songs we sing and the speeches we make on Memorial Day and Independence Day. It is seen in our literature for young people. It is typified in a recent picture called "A Lesson in Patriotism" where an old man is teaching a boy to handle a gun. It is still largely identified with guns

and armies and distrust of foreign nations in many minds. It thinks of the patriot as one who dies for his country rather than as one who lives for it and loves it enough to rebuke it and insist that it do justice to other nations and not shame itself in their eyes. But the change for the better is rapidly advancing here.

Perhaps after all the greatest obstacle to the movement of our century towards international brotherhood is a spiritual one—the same obstacle that has stood in the way of every good in history which the prophets have foreseen and urged, namely, distrust by good people of their own faith; their disbelief in the power of the gospel they all accept and confess, to accomplish the great things it promises; their fear to walk in untried ways. The peace movement is encountering this distrust of good men just as has every other great movement, and it is proving its worst foe as it did in all other instances. It is not militarism that the peace movement need chiefly fear. Militarism is doomed. It is not commercialism. Commercialism would not stand a day against the enroused conscience of humanity. It is not love of war, or that

men do not think war evil. The modern humane spirit grows so fast that nearly all men think war evil. Its greatest foe is that great company of Christian people, church people, who think war is cruel, devilish, that it violates all instincts of human brotherhood and is the blackest curse of our day, the paganism of our Christian era, but who do not believe their own gospel. They say, "War has always been, therefore it needs must always be." "People always have fought, therefore they always will." "You cannot change human nature." All this, in spite of the one fundamental claim of the gospel to make all things new, and the fact that history has been nothing but the changing of human nature both in individuals and societies.

But as great revolutions in human society have been accomplished by Christianity, in spite of the lack of faith in it of its followers, as is the change from war to law. When Jesus first preached the law of forgiveness to displace hatred and revenge, men gasped in astonishment. The good people all said, "It is beautiful, but ideal, visionary. You cannot change human nature." Now it is the recognized law of Christians. When the first

prophet proclaimed democracy in the midst of some tyrannical autocracy, again the good people all agreed that it was a beautiful thing —but a dream, an impossible heaven of the poet. "Men could not govern themselves even if allowed to try. They have no capacity," they all said. Once all the cities and dungeons of Europe were full of slaves. As the Christian humanity grew, those prophets who got close to the mind of Christ saw that it contradicted all the spirit of Christ's life and teaching, made impossible any real brotherhood of man. Again they were met by the palsy of faith in those good people who agreed it was evil but could see no hope. The change came in spite of this distrust in humanity's capacity to grow. Perhaps the best illustration of all is that of the abolishment of torture. In Nürnberg the old tower stands where one is shown the horrible instruments of torture including "the iron virgin" which were not only freely used in the sixteenth century, but which afforded biggest delight to the citizens at large, for they came in large crowds to enjoy the torture. One day the preacher in Strasburg on the Rhine said, "This torture is unchristian.

It is brutal. It is inhuman and barbarous. It is time it were stopped forever." The good people in the church all said, "Yes, it is unchristian, pagan, degrading. But you cannot stop it. Men have always tortured, they always will. It is deep-rooted in the very structure of society. You cannot change human nature. The millennium is far off." As a matter of fact torture was stopped almost immediately and now any one who should recommend it again would be looked upon as insane.[1]

We give these instances for two reasons. The first because war is no more ingrained in the necessity of human civilization than any of these other evils which have passed away. As a matter of fact it looks as if it were going to be easier to overthrow the war system and supplant it with law, than it was to overthrow absolutism in government and slavery as an institution. As a matter of fact many more deeply intrenched evils than war, evils which left a greater gap to be filled, would have been banished ages sooner, had Christians

[1] For an interesting discussion of this whole problem see Andrew D. White's "Seven Great Statesmen," the chapter on "Thomasius."

dared follow their prophets to the conclusion of their own gospel. To-day if the Christians would follow their own gospel or would half take Christianity at its word there would never be another war between nations. Many are devoutly praying that the good people of to-day are not going to be left stranded a hundred years behind the times as they were in all these other instances. Particularly the young men of this age of fast moving reforms should be in the front with the prophets.

The other reason why we give these illustrations is to show that it is not necessary to change the human nature of all people or to wipe out the popular prejudices or overcome ancient habits of thought in all the populace. It is the prophets and the leaders who make the changes of the world. The talk of *vox populi* is often more of delusion than a reality. Let us make enough of the preachers, teachers, editors, and particularly statesmen to see the reasonableness and inevitableness of the new order, and it can be at once established and the great changes made. If we could convince the heads of six nations with their parliaments that a League of

Peace was desirable we would soon have the combination of nations to preserve the peace of the world. This is the way many of these other changes came. If the delegates assembled at the Third Hague Conference should vote for a permanent court, the world would sustain them. Indeed it is not a matter of the world. It is a matter of the lawmakers. But public sentiment helps wonderfully and both educates and urges the legislatures and courts. And there is no need of being discouraged even at the possibility of creating a new sentiment and revolutionary impulse in the world at large. The only real hindrance to immediate and everlasting international peace is the timidity and silence of those who believe in it and want it. Let all men who believe in the community of nations, the supremacy of the kingdom of God, and the brotherhood of man speak at once. The abolition of war and the reign of law is no whit more impossible than a hundred things civilization has already banished or gained.

VIII

THE IMMEDIATE TASK

IN this last chapter we wish to emphasize some things that are next and immediately to be accomplished. Of course the whole book is in emphasis of these things, because the task of the century is to finish as soon as possible the task of world federation it already has begun, and to take next steps in the lines on which the practical people of all nations are now working. But it will be suggestive and encouraging to enumerate them here and to state them in order of importance, or rather of immediate necessity. It is with great satisfaction that all peace workers can remark as we list these things that many of them seem very near to accomplishment.

The first thing the century should see is a permanent court of arbitral justice firmly established in The Hague, at the time of the Third Hague Conference in 1915. The outlook for this is very bright. The Secretary of State of the United States has recently

sent a note to the various governments, as we saw in a previous chapter, suggesting that the powers, which are signatory to the recently constituted international prize court, establish among themselves a permanent court of international justice, regardless of the lesser powers which blocked the way at the Second Hague Conference. This note has met with enthusiastic response—with such response indeed that Secretary Knox has publicly announceed that the Third Hague Conference would find the court already constituted. Be this so or not, there ought to be such a world-wide sentiment in demand of this court generated between now and 1915, that the Third Hague Conference cannot think of dissolving its sessions without having constituted a Permanent Supreme Court of the World.

The second immediate task is closely related to this. It is to insist that all the nations present at the Third Hague Conference sign a general treaty of obligatory arbitration binding them to refer as many classes of disputes as can be got into the treaty, to the Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice if constituted, or if this is not consummated, to the

Permanent Tribunal now in existence and before which the Fisheries Dispute between Great Britain and the United States has recently been tried. Such a treaty was almost concluded at the Second Hague Conference, only two prominent nations opposing it. It must be signed at the Third Conference. The people must insist so loudly during the next five years that the conference will be forced to conclude it. We should insist, too, that all possible subjects be included in it. President Taft has spoken for this nation when he recently said future arbitration treaties should include all subjects. It may not be possible to get all the nations to sign a general treaty so absolute and so universal, but it ought to be possible to include in it, since this utterance of the President of the United States, more than could have been included at the Second Conference.

The third thing that should be consummated either before the Third Conference or simultaneous with it, is a League of Peace. There are two ways of conceiving of the League of Peace. One as a consolidation of the navies of three or four great nations into a small international police force large enough

simply to enforce the decrees of the Permanent Court when it shall be in operation; the other as a combination, if we do not get the Permanent Court soon, of the three or four great powers with their then irresistible armaments, to insist that all the rest of the world keep the peace. It is in line with President Taft's declaration that he hoped soon to see the time when nineteen nations of the Western Continent would have the power to say to any other two about to enter upon war, "You must stop." Mr. Andrew Carnegie and ex-President Roosevelt are earnestly advocating this league of peace. If we could get the United States, Great Britain, Germany and France to sign arbitration treaties among themselves agreeing to submit everything to arbitration, these nations leagued together would prevent any two other nations in the world from fighting each other. This is good, but not so good as the voluntary submission of disputes to the Permanent Court, as righteousness secured by superior force is never so desirous as the righteousness of free-will. But war between two nations disturbs all others. The competitive arming of two nations impoverishes all others by frightening them also into arm-

ing. Therefore if the three or four most civilized nations of the world outgrow war, they have a right to insist that all others cease from it and from preparation for it.

The fourth thing in importance need not wait upon any of these others. It should be concluded at once, and that is an arbitration treaty between Great Britain and the United States agreeing to submit every possible kind of dispute, including even that of vital honour, that elusive thing which no statesman has yet defined, to the Permanent Tribunal at The Hague for the present and after the Supreme Court is established, to that forever. We say this should be done at once, for we believe it could be done. There will have elapsed in 1914 a hundred years of peace between the United States and Great Britain. War between the two nations becomes more and more unthinkable. The United States should have the honour of making the proposal. As this book goes to press, the President of the United States is reported, evidently on quite trustworthy information (the writer has private information to the same effect), to be already negotiating such a treaty with Great Britain and that the preliminary

steps with the British ambassador have already been taken. This is the logical action of the President after his remarkable declaration that the United States should immediately conclude such a treaty with some great nation. The writer has reasons to believe that a large group in Congress would enthusiastically support such a treaty. If the United States does not do it soon, she will lose the honour, for England is thinking of this thing also. A large committee has been formed to arrange for a fitting celebration of this hundred years of peace. Already the signing of this treaty has occurred to many as the most fitting celebration. It would give greatest impetus to the peace movement of anything that could just now be done. It would be the beginning of the end. Other nations would simply have to follow—forced by the irresistible logic of evolution, if not following willingly—as we believe they would. If every lover of peace and good-will in the United States will talk it we shall have it in two years.

The fifth thing that should be quickly done in every nation has just been done in the United States, namely, the appointing by the nations of commissions made up of most

capable men to study means of hastening world federation and checking the intolerable and growing world burden of armaments. We are glad to say that in June of 1910 both the Senate and the House of Representatives passed a bill authorizing the President of the United States to appoint a commission of five members "to consider the expediency of utilizing existing international agencies for the purpose of limiting the armaments of the nations of the world by international agreement, and of constituting the combined navies of the world an international force for the preservation of universal peace." This commission is to report at the end of two years and its report will logically be the basis of action for the delegates of the United States to the Third Hague Conference.

The sixth thing that should be increased greatly is the practice of international hospitality by governments themselves. As we saw, it is a widely prevalent and growing custom among individuals and societies. But it should now be made a constant occurrence among governments. One parliament should invite the parliament of another nation to be its guests. One government should invite

the other governments to send delegates to discuss the conservation of the common good things of the world, as ex-President Roosevelt suggested when in office. Cabinets should exchange visits. It would be a good thing if the United States would invite King George of England, or the Emperor William of Germany, or the President of France to be its guest for a month. But every visit of one nation as the guest of another strengthens the friendly union of those nations and promotes mutual regard and understanding, which is a pledge of peace.

These are all concrete things to work for, things that can be done by votes and actions of official bodies. B... there are other things of no less importance inasmuch as they make possible the accomplishment of these outward things. We refer of course to the cultivation of a new sentiment, the creation of a new spirit, the acquiring of a new outlook on life, a new theory of human relationships. So the propaganda of the new idealism, the new social theory should go on with renewed vigour. The new day is near. The friends of the old know this and are defending the old with a dying man's strength.

Eagerness and real passion for the new will greatly hasten the day that is surely dawning.

First, we must show this generation that militarism is a survival of an old and ancient order that had its origin in monarchies and feudalism and in the days of despotism, but that it is an anachronism in the days of democracy. Democracy is based on justice, not on force. Its law is brotherhood, not iron and power. It rests on the good-will of men towards each other and a recognition of common rights, not on armies and navies. For two kings to go to war in olden times and use their subjects as pawns in their deadly games may have been natural, but for two free republics to go to destroying each other is a contradiction of the very nature of the new political order. For what have men striving for happiness and welfare in one nation got to do with killing their brother men who are pursuing the same struggles and the same ideals? Hold up militarism, as we do other relics of feudalism that persist in democracy, to ridicule. Teach the children that it is outgrown as old theologies, old sciences, old philosophies, old servitudes, old monarchical forms, old duels are outgrown.

Show them that the watchword of this day is justice. But wars never settle justice nor righteousness but only which nation is strongest or can endure longest or has most skill in killing. A people who love justice and desire it can have no further use for armies and navies except as small groups are needed for policing the nation. Show them how vast armies and navies imperil democracy because they put vaster and vaster power in the hands of the executive and central government to use against the people. Show them how this very thing makes democracy impossible in Russia. The nation tries to have a parliament. But the Tzar with his great army nullifies the people's every wish. The immediate task is to teach the world that militarism and democracy are as impossible in the same nation as mammon and God in the same heart.

Secondly we must spread the new gospel of brotherhood with even increasing ardour. Fortunately for the cause of world federation it is the one gospel to which the common man leaps more and more. But we must show men that the racial traits, the accidents of birth, the languages, the tongues, even the habits of mind and heart acquired

through long national ancestries are the superficial traits and distinctions of humanity, while the real traits are those that are universal, the common powers of loving and suffering and enjoying; the common ideal and aspirations, the common successes and defeats. The things that are the same in all nations are the deepest traits in every nation. Germans, French and English are all alike here. These superficial traits in the past have been chief. Now they are passing and the common human qualities are seen to be chiefest of all. This was Jesus' thought for the kingdom. Men have perverted it. Now we are again learning Paul's lesson that God "made of *one* every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Many things are causing this conception to rise among the people—democracy, the deepening hold of real Christianity, the transfer of emphasis in the Church from next-worldliness to a righteous this-worldliness, the federation of the working people, the bringing of the world into one neighbourhood by telegraph and steam. Added to this the living together of many nations in one nation, as a result of immigration, to some time become one people, has proven to the

world this truth. Let us hold it up now more fervently than ever—The common interests are greater than any racial or national interests. But war always destroys the community of the world to entrench again a particular trait of humanity.

Lastly, we need to teach the children the new patriotism. The old patriotism has been like the old sectarianism in religion—it thought everybody unsaved and foreign who was not of its own communion. The denomination was emphasized more than Christianity. It was typified in the remark of a certain New England deacon: "I may be a poor Christian but I'm a good Baptist." So the old patriotism has almost made us feel that all outside our own nation were inferiors, queer, unfavoured, strange foreigners, worst of all our natural enemies. The new patriotism teaches us to love our country just as much, yea, more, but at the same time, as in the new church unity, it teaches that men of other nations are not foreign nor alien, that they are very much like ourselves, that they live and behave very much as we do, that God has favoured them as much as us, that German, Frenchman, Englishman has many good qualities

we have not, that we can learn much from them:—above all that they have no more hatred towards us than we have to them. It is a very small nature that is continually imputing to other people attitudes and base purposes it does not itself entertain towards others. If the United States is not deliberately planning to invade Japan it is only a sign of her littleness that she continually suspects Japan of the purpose of invading us. Honourable and noble men, and just, strong nations, do not impute motives to others which they do not entertain themselves. As a matter of fact there is not a man in all the United States who gives a thought to invading any country. Who is silly enough to believe the English or German people are thinking any more of invasions than are we? So the new patriotism will recognize all the world as its home, all nations necessary to make up a ripe and symmetrical humanity, each race contributing its own; and will love its own country more that it may make it beautiful and just to play its part in the evolution of all humanity towards this consummation. The old patriotism sings forever of dying for one's country. The new patriotism emphasizes

living for it. And sometimes it seems to take more courage to live for it than to die for it. As one of the men who charged up San Juan Hill once said to the writer, "It was much easier for me to face Spanish bullets in one exciting charge than to face a bribe of $10,000 a year to give my knowledge of law to a nefarious enterprise. My real battle came when, as a poor lawyer, I fought that battle." We must show our youth that there is little likelihood of their being asked to act as targets for British bullets, but that the nation is suffering for a lack of pure, just, honourable men in politics and business and industry—men who will not soil their hands, nor sell their principles, nor forfeit their purity, nor degrade their ideals to those of the market-place, nor have anything to do with bribes and lies, nor set personal gain above the states' welfare in politics; show our boys that this is real patriotism to so live that the country will be juster, fairer, happier for their devoted lives. The old patriotism asks our boys to be ready to defend us from outside enemies. The new patriotism must show our boys that its outside enemies are as pygmies and as dreams, compared with its inside enemies,

those serpents in its own breast. Show them that at present there is no sign that the United States has a single enemy among the nations of the world, nor will have so long as she practices justice. Show them that her real enemies are her traitorous children who live off her and rob her and despoil her people, while often crying patriotism loudest —corrupt legislators, unscrupulous party leaders, takers of bribes in senates, politicians who squeeze the tills of great cities and take commissions on sales and contracts, grafters, patent medicine firms, adulterators of foods, liquor sellers, brewers, procurers, employers who grind down the poor and employ little children, lawbreakers both in trusts and in housebreaking, defenders of mob-rule, promoters of race hatreds:—these are our real enemies, our deadly ones, those for whom we may have real fear. Then there are tuberculosis, typhoid and a hundred diseases eating at our hearts. These are the things our youth must defend us from. Just at present they threaten the nation a thousand times as much as any foreign foe. Real patriotism is the determination to expel them from the nation. They are also the foes common to all the world.